The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" Praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, the Master of Messengers and the Leader of the mujahidin, and upon his household and all his companions. Preamble: Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate. Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it. Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world. Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force. Palestine symbolizes the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its capital.

2017 Hamas Covenant

In the Name of Allah Most Gracious Most Merciful

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation. Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it is the soul of humanity and its

living conscience. This document is the product of deep deliberations that led us to a strong consensus. As a movement, we agree about both the theory and the practice of the vision that is outlined in

the pages that follow. It is a vision that stands on solid grounds and on well-established principles. This document unveils the goals, the milestones and the way in which national unity can be enforced. It also establishes our common understanding of the Palestinian

cause, the working principles which we use to further it, and the limits of flexibility used to interpret it. The Movement: 1. The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its

frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means. The Land of Palestine: 2. Palestine, which extends from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras Al-Naqurah in the north to Umm Al-Rashrash in the south, is an integral territorial unit. It is the land and the home of the Palestinian people. The expulsion and banishment of the Palestinian people from their land and the establishment of the Zionist entity therein do not annul the right of the Palestinian people to their entire land and do not

entrench any rights therein for the usurping Zionist entity.

identity or rights by acquiring a second nationality.

Promise of Allah is fulfilled.

Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.

3. Palestine is an Arab Islamic land. It is a blessed sacred land that has a special place in the heart of every Arab and every Muslim. The Palestinian People: 4. The Palestinians are the Arabs who lived in Palestine until 1947, irrespective of whether they were expelled from it, or stayed in it; and every person that was born to an Arab Palestinian father after that date, whether inside or outside Palestine, is a Palestinian. 5. The Palestinian identity is authentic and timeless; it is passed from generation to

generation. The catastrophes that have befallen the Palestinian people, as a consequence of

the Zionist occupation and its policy of displacement, cannot erase the identity of the

Palestinian people nor can they negate it. A Palestinian shall not lose his or her national

6. The Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of

Islam and Palestine:

7. Palestine is at the heart of the Arab and Islamic Ummah and enjoys a special status. Within Palestine there exists Jerusalem, whose precincts are blessed by Allah. Palestine is the Holy Land, which Allah has blessed for humanity. It is the Muslims' first Qiblah and the destination of the journey performed at night by Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. It is the location from where he ascended to the upper heavens. It is the birthplace of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. Its soil contains the remains of thousands of Prophets,

Companions and Mujahidin. It is the land of people who are determined to defend the truth -

within Jerusalem and its surroundings - who are not deterred or intimidated by those who

oppose them and by those who betray them, and they will continue their mission until the

8. By virtue of its justly balanced middle way and moderate spirit, Islam - for Hamas -

all places. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It provides an umbrella for the

Hamas also believes that Palestine has always been and will always be a model of

coexistence, tolerance and civilizational innovation.

the ground are fundamentally null and void.

negate or diminish their right to return.

for freedom, liberation, return

provides a comprehensive way of life and an order that is fit for purpose at all times and in

followers of other creeds and religions who can practice their beliefs in security and safety.

9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam upholds the values of truth, justice, freedom and dignity and prohibits all forms of injustice and incriminates oppressors irrespective of their religion, race, gender or nationality. Islam is against all forms of religious, ethnic or sectarian extremism and bigotry. It is the religion that inculcates in its followers the value of standing up to aggression and of supporting the oppressed; it motivates them to give generously and make sacrifices in defence of their dignity, their land, their peoples and their holy places.

Jerusalem:

places belong exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah. Not

one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished. The measures undertaken by the

11. The blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque belongs exclusively to our people and our Ummah, and the

occupation has no right to it whatsoever. The occupation's plots, measures and attempts to

occupiers in Jerusalem, such as Judaization, settlement building, and establishing facts on

10. Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. Its religious, historic and civilizational status is

fundamental to the Arabs, Muslims and the world at large. Its Islamic and Christian holy

judaize Al-Aqsa and divide it are null, void and illegitimate. The Refugees and the Right of Return: 12. The Palestinian cause in its essence is a cause of an occupied land and a displaced people. The right of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced to return to their homes from which they were banished or were banned from returning to - whether in the lands occupied in 1948 or in 1967 (that is the whole of Palestine), is a natural right, both individual and collective. This right is confirmed by all divine laws as well as by the basic principles of human rights and international law. It is an inalienable right and cannot be dispensed with by any party, whether Palestinian, Arab or international.

13. Hamas rejects all attempts to erase the rights of the refugees, including the attempts to

Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence

of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with

The Zionist Project:

14. The Zionist project is a racist, aggressive, colonial and expansionist project based on

seizing the properties of others; it is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their aspiration

their right to return. They are to receive compensation upon their return and this does not

settle them outside Palestine and through the projects of the alternative homeland.

and self-determination. The Israeli entity is the plaything of the Zionist project and its base of aggression. 15. The Zionist project does not target the Palestinian people alone; it is the enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah posing a grave threat to its security and interests. It is also hostile to the Ummah's aspirations for unity, renaissance and liberation and has been the major source of its troubles. The Zionist project also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability. 16. Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who

constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.

17. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her

problem, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews are phenomena fundamentally

Palestine, is the most dangerous form of settlement occupation which has already

disappeared from much of the world and must disappear from Palestine.

rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds. Hamas is of the view that the Jewish

linked to European history and not to the history of the Arabs and the Muslims or to their

heritage. The Zionist movement, which was able with the help of Western powers to occupy

The position toward Occupation and Political Solutions:

18. The following are considered null and void: the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate

Document, the UN Palestine Partition Resolution, and whatever resolutions and measures

and contravenes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and goes against their will

and the will of the Ummah; it is also in violation of human rights that are guaranteed by

19. There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Whatever has

befallen the land of Palestine in terms of occupation, settlement building, Judaization or

20. Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded,

irrespective of the causes, the circumstances and the pressures and no matter how long the

occupation lasts. Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of

Zionist entity and without relinquishing any Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the

capital along the lines of the 4th of June 1967, with the return of the refugees and the

displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national

consensus.

Ummah.

in conflict with each other.

expense of the principle of resistance.

a manner that safeguards Palestinian rights.

liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.

achieve liberation.

Ummah.

Palestinian people.

capital.

Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising its rejection of the

establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its

21. Hamas affirms that the Oslo Accords and their addenda contravene the governing rules

of international law in that they generate commitments that violate the inalienable rights of

international conventions, foremost among them is the right to self-determination.

changes to its features or falsification of facts is illegitimate. Rights never lapse.

that derive from them or are similar to them. The establishment of "Israel" is entirely illegal

the Palestinian people. Therefore, the Movement rejects these agreements and all that flows from them, such as the obligations that are detrimental to the interests of our people, especially security coordination (collaboration). 22. Hamas rejects all the agreements, initiatives and settlement projects that are aimed at undermining the Palestinian cause and the rights of our Palestinian people. In this regard, any stance, initiative or political programme must not in any way violate these rights and should not contravene them or contradict them. 23. Hamas stresses that transgression against the Palestinian people, usurping their land and banishing them from their homeland cannot be called peace. Any settlements reached on this basis will not lead to peace. Resistance and jihad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a

legitimate right, a duty and an honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our

Resistance and Liberation:

24. The liberation of Palestine is the duty of the Palestinian people in particular and the duty

necessitated by the dictates of truth and justice. The agencies working for Palestine, whether

national, Arab, Islamic or humanitarian, complement each other and are harmonious and not

25. Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by

divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance,

which is regarded as the strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the

26. Hamas rejects any attempt to undermine the resistance and its arms. It also affirms the

resistance, in terms of escalation or de-escalation, or in terms of diversifying the means and

methods, is an integral part of the process of managing the conflict and should not be at the

The Palestinian Political System:

27. A real state of Palestine is a state that has been liberated. There is no alternative to a fully

sovereign Palestinian State on the entire national Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its

28. Hamas believes in, and adheres to, managing its Palestinian relations on the basis of

pluralism, democracy, national partnership, acceptance of the other and the adoption of

dialogue. The aim is to bolster the unity of ranks and joint action for the purpose of

accomplishing national goals and fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

29. The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people inside and outside of

30. Hamas stresses the necessity of building Palestinian national institutions on sound

Palestine. It should therefore be preserved, developed and rebuilt on democratic foundations

so as to secure the participation of all the constituents and forces of the Palestinian people, in

democratic principles, foremost among them are free and fair elections. Such process should

right of our people to develop the means and mechanisms of resistance. Managing

of the Arab and Islamic Ummah in general. It is also a humanitarian obligation as

be on the basis of national partnership and in accordance with a clear programme and a clear strategy that adhere to the rights, including the right of resistance, and which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people. 31. Hamas affirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority should be to serve the Palestinian people and safeguard their security, their rights and their national project. 32. Hamas stresses the necessity of maintaining the independence of Palestinian national decision-making. Outside forces should not be allowed to intervene. At the same time, Hamas affirms the responsibility of the Arabs and the Muslims and their duty and role in the

33. Palestinian society is enriched by its prominent personalities, figures, dignitaries, civil

society institutions, and youth, students, trade unionist and women's groups who together

work for the achievement of national goals and societal building, pursue resistance, and

34. The role of Palestinian women is fundamental in the process of building the present and

The Arab and Islamic Ummah:

35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian issue is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic

36. Hamas believes in the unity of the Ummah with all its diverse constituents and is aware

of the need to avoid anything that could fragment the Ummah and undermine its unity.

37. Hamas believes in cooperating with all states that support the rights of the Palestinian

the future, just as it has always been in the process of making Palestinian history. It is a

pivotal role in the project of resistance, liberation and building the political system.

people. It opposes intervention in the internal affairs of any country. It also refuses to be drawn into disputes and conflicts that take place among different countries. Hamas adopts the policy of opening up to different states in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic states. It endeavours to establish balanced relations on the basis of combining the requirements of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's interests on the one hand with the interests of the Ummah, its renaissance and its security on the other. The Humanitarian and International Aspect:

38. The Palestinian issue is one that has major humanitarian and international dimensions.

Supporting and backing this cause is a humanitarian and civilizational task that is required

by the prerequisites of truth, justice and common humanitarian values.

39. From a legal and humanitarian perspective, the liberation of Palestine is a legitimate activity, it is an act of self-defence, and it is the expression of the natural right of all peoples to self-determination. 40. In its relations with world nations and peoples, Hamas believes in the values of cooperation, justice, freedom and respect of the will of the people. 41. Hamas welcomes the stances of states, organisations and institutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It salutes the free peoples of the world who support the Palestinian cause. At the same time, it denounces the support granted by any party to the Zionist entity or the attempts to cover up its crimes and aggression against the Palestinians

and calls for the prosecution of Zionist war criminals. 42. Hamas rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the Arab and Islamic Ummah just as it rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the rest of the world's nations and peoples. Hamas also condemns all forms of colonialism, occupation, discrimination, oppression and aggression in the world.

May 2017